1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

THE YARUROS OF THE CAPANAPARO RIVER, VENEZUELA

By Vincenzo Petrullo

Introduction

121 The American primitive aborigines are rapidly becoming extinct. Some groups are dying out, and others are being assimilated in the lowest laboring classes of the various nations. In any case, the American aborigines, as first found by the sixteenth century explorers, are rarely met today. Only in a few spots, difficult of access or geographically undesirable to the Euro-American, can one find a few primitive peoples still eking out an existence as did their ancestors of four centuries ago. Some of these groups have had intermittent contact with European culture; others do not even know of it at first hand. It is these tribes which can furnish the key to many problems of American anthropology and to some extent to world anthropology, but there is need for haste in studying them, for they may not survive this generation.

511 A simple hunting and fishing culture is the most primitive economic existence. When such a culture has not been able to lift itself above the wood, shell, and bone stage, it should be ranked among the primary. The presence of the bow and pottery may lift a culture slightly above the Australian, but not very much so. The Yaruro culture described in the following pages can be classified as being on that level. Certainly it is as primitive as the Fuegian. The Yaruros, like most tribes of the South American tropical lowlands, have been handicapped by lack of stone in the country. Wood, shell, and bone were [177] substituted until they came in contact with iron. Today they obtain scraps of iron, which they have learned to fashion into arrow points, from the cattle ranchers, but they would have done just as well without this new material.

511 A people like the Yaruros are forced to economize in every aspect 361 of their material culture. Literally they may have only that which they are able to transport with them. All the worldly possessions of each family must be crowded into one small dugout canoe. The

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

511 superfluous needs to be dispensed with every time camp is moved,
361 which occurs every few days. Only in thoughts and feelings can they be as rich as any other people; but this requires a particular kind of temperament possessed by only a few individuals in the tribe.

182 Their economic life, social organization, mythology, and religion form a well-knit pattern of existence. There are no loose ends, but a knot here and there appears in the form of vagueness or contradiction. But I think that the fault lies with us who would introduce our type of organization into their knowledge. We expect more from a primitive group than we ourselves could offer. Besides, it is doubtful whether we ever present the picture of their culture as they see it; if we did we might not understand or we might even be surprised at its orderliness.

177 Although the Yaruros have been in touch with Euro-American cul-
121 ture for several centuries they have borrowed remarkably little. What culture they possessed several centuries ago we do not know. There is practically no information about them in the literature. There is justification, therefore, in publishing this record, in spite of many apparent deficiencies. Since plans for another visit to fill in the gaps in my field notes have not materialized and the Yaruros may be gone before another ethnologist can live with them it seems advisable to make this material available.

121 Anthropology, among other things, is concerned with the interrelationships of groups of men and with the functions of social structures as developed by man and his environment. I have tried to keep in mind that in presenting a first account of an unknown people it may not be at all out of place to draw a general but intimate picture of the daily life of the Yaruros, their emotional, cognitive and conative responses to the world about them, and even their attitude toward the ethnologist who appeared among them with only the objective of hold-
123 ing friendly conversations about themselves. At first they were suspicious, but they soon caught the point and enjoyed the experience as much as I did. An attempt has been made to give these pictures, and to explain the series of events which made possible with these nomads the intimate association that followed the first few days of unfriendliness.

124 No attempt has been made to reconcile differences in the information
128 obtained from various informants, not even if there is a contradiction. It was the first time that the Yaruros had been asked to organize their knowledge of their own culture; contradictions and vagueness were to be expected. My informants were exclusively men, even for those
123 phases of culture which admittedly belong to the female world. A cultural obstacle which I respected prevented any direct social intercourse with the women. The women's domain is respected by the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

123 men. A female ethnologist might get an interesting, and perhaps different, picture of Yaruro culture. I do know that there were many things, especially in the field of shamanism, from which I was shut off. The Yaruros saw this and the women relayed a pressing request that on my next visit to them I bring my "wife" (I have none!), with whom they could lie on the sands at night and tell things about their world similar to what their men told me.

My visit took place in the months of February, March, and April of 1934. Several species of intestinal parasites acquired in Brazil not only precluded my roaming about the countryside, but forced the Yaruros to attend me day and night for many weeks, giving ample opportunity—once it lasted for thirty-four consecutive hours—to talk. A sedentary life is so foreign to a nomadic people that this chance to corner them for "talk" was too good to miss. In fact, after a while it was becoming too much for them, and besides, hunting in the area became impractical. Everything considered, we reached a saturation point and I started on my way back. Many of these friends may be dead by now.

The Yaruros and Their Country

YARURO DAILY LIFE

101 131 181 Peaceful and mystical, the Yaruros, or Pumeh as they call themselves, wander up and down the Capanaparo and Sinaruco Rivers (fig. 15) gathering their daily dinner and thinking about the life awaiting them in the Land of Kuma when they leave this world.

361 133 As dawn breaks over the hills of Guiana we may discover a Yaruro camp on one of the sandy beaches of the Capanaparo River about a day's journey by canoe from where it flows into the Orinoco. It appears as a dark blotch on the wind-packed white sands at a distance of some 50 yards from the water's edge and more than that from the wall of vegetation which marks the bank of the river during the rainy season and hides the open savanna country beyond. The camp gives no sign of life until the sun shows clearly in the sky. Then we see that it consists of some leafy branches and 3-foot sticks bare of bark thrust in the sands, casting long shadows in the early morning to where the vultures are fighting among themselves at the refuse heap located to the west of the camp; or the white vulture, the "king," may be seen feasting alone while his black brethren await disconsolately on the side.

361 As the light becomes stronger we make out under the branches piles of debris, recumbent human forms, and mangy dogs tied to the sticks. The debris consists of baskets and pots, with here and there small

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

cheesecloth contraptions no more than 2 feet high under which human beings are sleeping half buried in the sand.

Approaching the river, we see canoes pulled up on the sands and discover that there is more debris close by, but its owners are not in sight. In the water close to the canoes are turtles with their hind legs tied to the front ones. Some of these are also fastened to the canoes, by means of strings which pass through holes drilled in their carapaces. They make fruitless efforts to move away whenever anyone comes near to them.

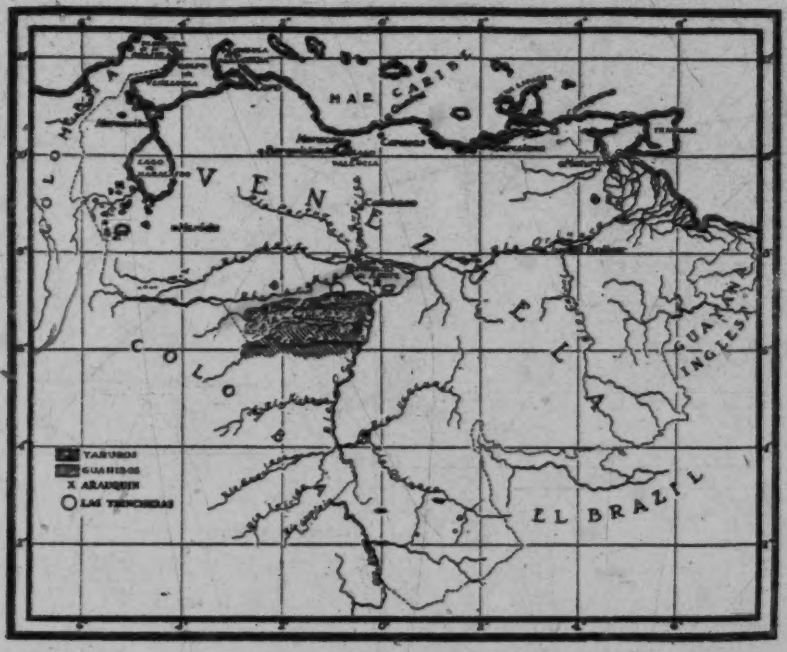


FIGURE 15.—Map of Venezuela.

It is not a large camp, and the sleepers do not number many. As we look around us they appear to be insignificant and lost in immense space, so distant and even is the horizon. Only to the east do we see a wall of shadow rising a little above the horizon. It is all that can be seen of the hills of Guiana across the Orinoco not far away. In the early morning light they look like mountains, though they are only a few hundred feet high.

The awakening of a Yaruro camp is quiet, almost surreptitious. As the grayness of the landscape gives place to bright orange-gold, some of the sleepers are up, squatting with their legs doubled under them. They face the west; they do not move, merely sit still watching

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

paddle up the five rivers: the Apure, Arauca, Capanaparo, Sinaruco, and the Meta. In the dry season it is possible to make one's way southward from Caracas by way of Ortiz, Calabozo, San Fernando de Apure, to San Juan de Payara by automobile, and then on horseback to Cunaviche and beyond. Beginning our journey from Caracas at the end of January, we followed the latter route.

San Juan de Payara and Cunaviche are ancient colonial mission villages and the farthest outposts of civilization in the llanos. There are no missions there now. Their populations are typically llanero; that is, civilized mixed bloods. We rode southward across the dry and sandy plains, over which roam herds of wild cattle and horses. Mirages, which amazed the widely traveled Humboldt, were frequent. In the treeless plains forests were suspended in the sky, horses ran through the air, and great clear lakes stretched out before us. But water was scarce, and had we not been guided by men who knew every square inch of the ground we should have suffered for lack of it. We picked up our guides in relays on the way, a merry, capable lot, with much Indian blood in their veins, conscious of being free men of the llanos whom no dictator nor army has been able to tame. At night, if we stopped at a ranch, we listened to cowboy songs accompanied by the harp and rattle, music which reflected Indian, Spanish, and Negro influences. Our meager baggage was carried by an unwilling bull. Using a common cowboy expedient, we tied its nose to the guide's horse's tail and the bull was literally dragged all the way to El Buron.[2]

We made our first contact with the Yaruros at El Buron, a ranch owned by Don Manuel Hurtado. Don Manuel, like most of the native llaneros, is sympathetic to the Yaruros, and keeps on friendly terms with them. With his help and that of his household, particularly a young woman called Maria, we attempted to establish friendly relations with the Yaruros. In the llanos human beings are not plentiful, and consequently, it doesn't occur to them to erect social barriers that would tend to keep various groups apart.

There was not much about the camp of the Yaruros to interest the casual glance. There were present about a dozen women, eight men, and some children. The extreme poverty and simplicity of the camp were its outstanding features. There were no houses, nor shelters of any sort; only a few old baskets, a few sticks, a few rags, calabashes and water jars, and a few seminaked human beings lying half buried in the sand under the shade of thinly leafed branches thrust into the ground. Several fires were burning, and over them there were pots

[2] In working cattle the llanero ties one end of his lariat to his horse's tail instead of to the saddle, which often he may be lacking. The horses are trained to keep the rope taut after the animal is roped.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

772 considered to be their ancestorial relatives; that once upon a time
[173] the Yaruros were very many and now very few; that the Yaruros had been visited with great calamities the preceding year, and many of their people had died through sickness and other destructive forces.

123 Also, I learned that, though I could gather inklings of a rich spiritual culture and a good cross section of the material phases from this band, I had to go farther down river to meet the spiritual leaders of the remnants of this race if I wanted to reach the heart of the Yaruros' religion, cosmology, mythology, and ethics.

791 In all of the primitive groups with which I have come in contact,
123 certain individuals are recognized as the leaders and authorities, especially on such matters as religion and social organization. The younger people hesitate and often refuse to discuss such matters altogether, but age alone is not enough to qualify an individual as the mouthpiece of the group. The Yaruros were no exception. As soon as they grasped that I wanted to know a great deal about their history and culture they urged me to talk to "Landaeta", their leader and great "musico" or shaman. He, with his family, was hunting on the lower Capanaparo. They offered to guide me to him. Accordingly, we journeyed downstream by moonlight to avoid the heat of the day, and as I subsequently discovered, to avoid meeting with crocodile hunters.

361 About noon the next day we sighted several empty canoes drawn up
482 on the bank, and knew that there must be more Yaruros nearby. We
462 landed on the sandy beach and awaited their return. They came early in the afternoon, the men carrying turtles and crocodiles slung on poles, the women with baskets filled with changuango, leaning forward as they walked, looking not unlike grotesque apes under their heavy loads; and also, little children carrying their share of food,
[152] straggling behind. Upon seeing me they were frightened, but did not run away.

123 My Yaruro paddlers acted the part of mediators perfectly, for soon afterwards we were all embarked and moving downstream to join the main body of Landaeta's band which, I was told, was encamped
[152] several miles downstream. Their good humor almost amounted to
462 gaiety. The three canoes moved steadily down the river, the men paddling hard, and the women sitting quietly and casting shy inquisitive glances in my direction.

361 We found Landaeta and his people on a large exposed wind-swept beach. There was the white sand, the strong wind blowing from the east raising it into dust clouds, and the intense glare from river and sand; a few water jars, a few baskets, several refuse heaps with buzzards feeding at them, canoes drawn up on the beach, and some

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

361 captive turtles; and a few human beings were sitting or lying in the midst of all this, and exposed to all of the elements.

[203] 791 Among primitive people news travels rapidly. Landaeta, in this case, received me with the air of one who was expecting a visitor and it turned out that my reputation had preceded me. Not only did he know that I was in the country, but also why I was there. He was expecting me in order to teach me his ways and the ways of his people, and to learn my ways and the ways of my people. To him I was a shaman, no different than himself, who knew their mother goddess intimately and who was perhaps related to the gods themselves. He asked me for pictures of Kuma and Kuma's land. I soon discovered that he was under the illusion that in some way I was on intimate terms with the Yaruro's god.

763 A little to one side a branch was planted in the sand, and lying in its thin shade a girl was waiting to die. She was burning with fever and delirious. Her people were hovering over her, without being able to alleviate her sufferings or to help her to the end of life. Her malady was a new one to them, passed on by the newcomers to their world, and therefore they had no remedy for it.

758 123 The sick girl was Landaeta's daughter and as one physician to another, he came to me requesting that I save his daughter from death. Being neither physician, magician, nor priest, I responded to his plea the best way I could. Lest I be drawn into a situation of attempting to cure a sick person without adequate knowledge of the sickness or its remedy, I moved off the same day to seek other Yaruros; but only after Landaeta had promised that he would commence his journey in the cool of the evening and rejoin me several days later.

577 It has often been said that to accept the promise of a primitive Indian is to abandon all thought of its being remembered. Perhaps it would seem that I put too much faith and trust in my friends in sitting down to wait for them to join me. But a promise made and accepted without coercion is to the Indian one that has to be kept; and, as in many other cases of my experience with primitive people, this one was kept.

123 That the feeling of suspicion had not disappeared completely was proven by the attitude of another hunting group which I visited. I went alone among them, and unarmed. On my arrival in a canoe, carrying no equipment, they sullenly warned me to keep away from them and their camp. However, good will is never unproductive, and when they saw that I merely squatted on the sands, shared my tobacco with them, said nothing, and then cheerfully paddled away, their hearts must have melted, for several days later they too had joined my band of friends, later becoming among those most deeply attached to me.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19 sia RC

521 performances would be given which would last until sunrise. Therefore there was an intense exchange of ideas for relatively long times with no rest.

• 361 The time came when Landaeta became a little restless. He was not accustomed to camping on one spot for more than two or three days at a time and he himself had done no hunting since I had joined them. Besides, the men and women had to forage farther and farther away for food. If my physical condition had permitted, it would have been well to continue living with them, moving from place to place, as is normal.

123 152 However, I knew I had to return to civilization quickly. The effect of my announcement on my hosts was interesting, and touching. It will be recalled that I had appeared in their midst as a stranger and a potential enemy and it was through a fortuitous event that I was accepted by them, not only as a friend but as a relative who worshipped the same gods. Since then I had actually been given an affectionate place in their emotional lives and they were sorry to see me go. They understood the reasons that were making it urgent for me to leave, especially understandable was the fact that my "wife and child" who had not seen me for many months were waiting for me to return. Nevertheless, they expressed sorrow, a certain amount of listlessness began to appear and they would come to me and sit by my side, telling me that they would be a rather lonesome people after I had gone; that they liked to talk about religious matters, and that when I would no longer be there with them they would have no one to talk things over with. This attitude affected the men and women in a very curious way. We had very little food in the camp, but still they would not go out and gather fresh quantities. And when I urged them to do so they answered that the knowledge of my coming departure made them very sad, and consequently they did not have the proper spirit to gather food, or even to eat.

609 511 These people have very little in the way of excess goods. Each family has a few baskets, perhaps a water jar, a mat or two, scraps of clothing and their tools, nothing more. And these generally were in very poor condition from long use. Knowing that I wanted to take back with me some of these things, they became busy weaving hammocks, making basketry and even pottery, so that I would take back to my "wife and child" objects new and well-made. This reaction on their part was spontaneous and they all expressed the idea that I should take back with me only new, well-made articles to remember them by; so for about a week before my departure there was intense activity around camp.

The day of my departure finally arrived and I said good-bye. There was no ceremonial wailing as had attended my departure from the

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

In the case of the Yaruros all of these factors have played an important role and are currently active in reducing their territories and food supply to a degree that will mean imminent extermination of the people. It is true that since the first settler arrived in their country the Yaruros could have made readjustments in their culture which perhaps might have permitted them to survive. They could have learned, for instance, to raise horses, cattle, and to cultivate the soil as the Guajiros, living in a country similar to the llanos, have done. But they have chosen to remain firm in their own culture, own traditions, and own universe, and as a result are expecting to pay the penalty. Why they have failed to make the readjustment which would have brought them into a livable relationship with the newcomers and have persisted in keeping to their primitive, nomadic existence may be answered in the pages that follow.

Dependency on hunting, fishing, and gathering of edible fruits and roots imposes nomadism upon a people and prevents living together in large groups. The degree to which a people have to wander, the extent of the territory over which they must roam, and the size of the group, is dependent upon the abundance of the food supply in the region. The Yaruro hunting groups are small and they stay in one camp not more than a few days; so, they are to be met plying up and down the river in their canoes or traveling over land to the water holes, ever hunting for food.

HUNTING TERRITORIES

Each hunting group has a territory over which it is free to roam. Over this region only its members are allowed to hunt and gather fruits and roots, but the rivers, the main streams, are open to all. The accompanying map shows the limits of the present hunting territory of the Yaruros of the Capanaparo. It would seem that anciently, when the Yaruros were more numerous, they roamed over a vaster region cut up into small portions over which hunting rights were distributed among various hunting family groups. I was assured that the Yaruros of the Sinaruco also have divided their country into family units.

There is also a sort of division among the Yaruros which transcends family grouping. The Yaruros of the Capanaparo, for instance, consider themselves a unit, though loosely bound, as distinct from the Yaruros of the Sinaruco, so that they consider the land drained by the Capanaparo as theirs and the region drained by the Sinaruco as the land of the Yaruros of that river. And yet, above all this, there seems to be a tribal feeling as opposed to the tribal divisions. The real significance of this is that among the Yaruros there is permitted a degree of mutuality in the use of the hunting rights

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

516 the Yaruro generally paddles sitting down in the bot-
502 tom of the canoe on several cross sticks without any back rest or any foot rest on which to brace himself. To one not accustomed to such a position it is clumsy and painful, and easily fatiguing. The paddler's stroke is short, quick, and choppy, like that of many South American tribes in Brazil.

SHELTER

362 Yaruro shelter is the simplest thing in the world. Nothing simpler could be devised. Shunning the forest and camping only on the open beaches by the river, the shelter is devised for two purposes—to protect the family from the winds, the insects, the sun,
342 and in the rainy season from the rain. They make, therefore, a variety of shelters. The camp shelter for daytime in the dry season consists of branches thrust vertically into the sands. If there are any persons about camp during the day, which there are generally, they will sit in the shade of these branches, moving around them as the sun changes its position in the sky. At night they dig holes in the sand and lie in them, protecting themselves from the winds by a shelter of branches or basketry at the head. These shelters, however, must allow a certain amount of wind to come through in order to prevent the gathering of large swarms of insects. Sleeping in holes in the sand, they keep warm, since the dry winds make it quite
361 chilly at night. All of the Yaruro in the Capanaparo are too no-
364 madic to build better shelter than the types described, since they stay in one camp only a few days, generally two or three. They move about so much, both for the lack of game in the area and the refuse that accumulates around camp, even though the vultures can always be seen feasting upon the remains of crocodile and turtle. The Yaruro are aware that if they stay too close to such piles of refuse they may become infected.

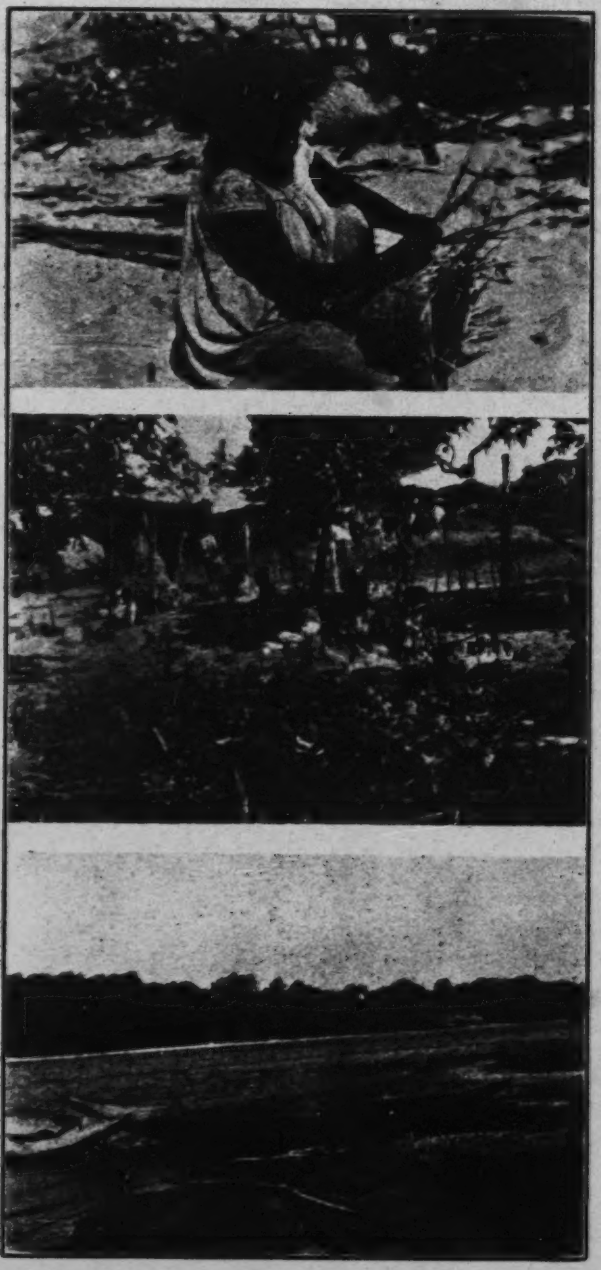
101 However, the Yaruro living on Linda Bara, the islands at the
361 mouth of the Capanaparo, have such an abundance of food that they
342 make somewhat more permanent structures. This consists generally of a low hemispherical structure covered with palm leaves which reach to about 2 feet from the ground, leaving the interior open to the winds, but even these structures are abandoned in a few weeks because of the insect life. This is the type of structure that is employed during the rainy season when life becomes more sedentary.

POTTERY

317 At certain places along the banks of the Capanaparo the proper
323 clay is found for pottery. The type preferred is whitish in color. Generally a small quantity of yellowish red clay is mixed with it.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

285



361

501

1. Basket weaving is woman's work. Carrying and storage baskets are crude affairs, often woven out of one palm leaf. Pouches are made with greater care and take a considerably longer time. 2. Yaruro camp at El Burro. Note the lack of shelter. 3. Yaruro dugout canoes.

(End Plate 6)

182 First, through time, the gardens tend to radiate further and further
241 from any given residence point since, given the 13-year planting-fallow
361 cycle, plots near the village will be exhausted. Since the major garden resource areas lie in a crudely east-to-west direction, there will be a slow westward migration of the geographic center of garden activities, enough so that at some point, the village is suspended, as it were, among distant resource points (see Maps), and enhanced by the dispersed nature of the hunting and fishing, and to some extent the gathering, areas. If the "suspension" is weighted more in one direction than another, there will be some tendency either to move the village or to send out temporary or permanent branches of it, respectively in the form of work cottages in the swiddens or in larger long-term house groups which are intermittently occupied. This process is, in fact, easily observed among the Yaruro in existent and abandoned house and subsidiary village sites scattered over the whole territory. Similarly, the locus of gathering, so important in
[221] summer, moves further and further from the village. This, together with the considerable shift to fishing and river-hunting in summer, as well as the need for water, causes an extensive seasonal transhumance to occur within the territory. These factors contribute to fissioning as well as to inhibiting the development of permanently located villages, let alone larger aggregations. Thus, with a radiating ecology, a degree of group dispersion and geographical mobility within the territory is to be expected and is indeed characteristic of the Yaruro.

512 Second, if one examines the location of all resources it will be seen that, taken together, they constantly enjoin a dispersal of the labor force in all directions, regardless of season, so that more or less equivalent quantities of labor are being used at the same time in many varying kinds of productive activity independently of each other -- at the peripheries of the territory, in the areas between, or in the village centers themselves,
[462] where the women are constantly doing the significantly important work of
[252] converting otherwise unusable food resources, like raw, bitter manioc or uncooked corn, into edibles.

476 Third, it will be noted that none of the Yaruro technological processes require cooperative work, even when they may permit it, if it were so desired. On the whole, the productive activities might be described as dispersive of labor, whether it is individuals or small groups of twos or threes who go out to keep each other company. Even the work of preparing
[241] the swiddens is carried out individually, though two or three men may
[463] work as neighbors in what appears as a single plot. Further, the technology
[242] is such as to require no highly specific and difficult or esoteric skills. The most difficult skill to acquire is the knowledge of the soil types and appropriate planting procedures attached to each. Thus, each adult is in
462 a position to learn the inventory of technological knowledge appropriate
463 to his or her sex, and somewhat of that belonging to the other sex too, and to apply it by himself whenever he wants or must. A man, well-instructed in Yaruro technology, could probably subsist alone successfully for long periods of time. One divorced adult man, although he was largely fed by his

102
311
131
361
22

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Cp. 40J

MAP I- Winter Resource Areas

KEY

- SAND DUNES
- TREE MONTE SUITABLE FOR SWIDDENS
- SCRUBBY MONTE NOT FOR SWIDDENS
- GALLERY FORESTS
- GALLERY FORESTS FLOODED, NONARABLE
- THE PRESENT VILLAGE
- OLD OR UNVISITED VILLAGE SITES (WINTER HOMES)

Numerals represent numbers appearing in Table I

I inch = ca 1.25 mi

Maps by Jo Leeds.

[p.41]

2:Leeds E-5 (1958)1961 SS19 Yaruro SS19

221 262 Finally, the Yaruro deny any considerable long-term oscillations in the environment and consequently in the resources. The extremes, particularly the minima, of habitat factors which regulate food and population balances, according to Liebig's Law, fall within narrow limits and again elicit no special institutions of management or of equilibrium maintenance to compensate for them, as in the case of the potlatches of the Northwest Coast of America, the buffalo hunts in the Great Plains of the United States, or the use of pigs in Melanesia.[23]

VI

868 One more point may be made regarding the ecology as limiter of chieftainship among the Yaruro. The tools, techniques, and resources require no very extensive, highly specialized or esoteric knowledge. In fact any man or woman, and any child as well, has access to such knowledge, and it is easily acquired by all members of the society who thus have, at least potentially, equal access to control over the means of life. There is no specialized knowledge, at least with respect to technology and habitat, which requires a specialized repository in the form of a chief or learned person. Yaruro knowledge, itself dependent upon the inventory of tools, techniques, and resources, inhibits any tendency towards the development of any [463] sort of specialists in technical or managerial knowledge. As one might expect, there are no true specialists in Yaruro society. Here and there women make pots and certain women seem to have a special bent for making woven sacks but these [756] are not properly specialities. Nor, from a technological or ecological point of view, is male or female shamanism in any way a speciality. They do not appear to be specialists even in esoteric knowledge. Knowledge of the general type described here might be called 'dispersive' or 'egalitarian' since it tends to become more or less uniformly distributed among the members of the society. A consequence of the existence of this type of knowledge, associated with the kind of technology described, is that there will be no specialised training of any specialists and, of course, no specialised personnel to do such training. This is the situation which obtains among the Yaruro both with respect to technical and managerial activities. Thus, in Yaruro knowledge, there is no source for the support of an institutionalized and strong chieftainship.

VII

221 241 ●361 622 In one respect, the ecology encourages chiefly functions. A balance is struck between the cultural resources, the possibilities that the habitat affords for their production, and the length of time that areas of land can be exploited. This is particularly true of the horticultural lands since they can no longer be used after three years of cropping, and it becomes necessary to move on. The result is that there is a slow migration of resource areas, chiefly of horticultural areas across the tribal territory. The lands in cultivation move further and further from any given village until a point of suspension is reached at which the walking and working

[23] Cf. Suttles, 1960 a, 1960 b; Llewelly and Hoebel, 1941; Vayda, 1961; Vayda, Leeds, and Smith, 1961.

3:Leeds E-5 (1958) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

distance of the gardens is too far from the village for effective or efficient exploitation. At this point a village or part of a village must move. Moving the villages involves decision-making with respect to time, new location, and so on. Plainly, moving a village involves a community decision. A community institution for handling the decision-making is necessary. Technologically speaking, the moving itself is not a community task and does not involve supervision and direction. Therefore, one would not expect the institution of decision-making to be a directive one, but a consultative one. Again this corresponds to the observed modes of action of the Yaruro chiefs. The chiefs' function is to facilitate the formation of the decisions of the community by funnelling and interpreting individuals' feelings and expressions to the rest of the members of the community.

In sum, I have presented a model of a form of ecology which, hypothetically, determines the limits within which any sort of chiefly functions may operate. This model, again hypothetically, is applicable to all cultures having the kind of technological and habitat characteristics and forms of surplus here described. I think the model applies particularly to cultures which grow root-crops such as manioc, which utilize no labor-concentrative techniques, such as irrigation, and for whose food resources notable seasonality is absent. Such cultures have been noted widely in tropical South America and also in Melanesia. In both areas, chiefly functions are notably limited as contrasted, say, with Circum-Caribbean corn-raising cultures with some irrigation and other intensive techniques[24] and with Polynesian high cultures with elaborate irrigation and other public works.[25] It should be noted, first, that the Yaruro were not far from these Circum-Caribbean chiefdoms and even show a number of trait similarities, and, second, that the Yaruro have been under Spanish acculturation, which has involved encouragement of chiefly functions, for probably 250 years. Yet, despite the pressures of both diffusion and acculturation to produce a more developed chieftaincy, the attenuated form described persists. The explanation of this persistence seems to me to be ecological. I suggest that the model of explanation presented here is based on a set of analytic dimensions — the characteristics of the technology, those of the habitat, those of the harvest surplus, and the interrelationships of these — which may be used for all cultures, but whose formal, systemic relations vary from culture to culture, or class of cultures to class of cultures, thus giving different models for different cultures or classes of cultures. By using such dimensions, one can account for cultural differences by means of a standard set of principles, thus faciliating genuine comparisons and generalizations.

Bibliography

CARNEIRO, ROBERT
1961 Slash-and-Burn Cultivation among the Kuikuru and its Implications for Cultural Development in the Amazon Basin. *In*: Wilbert, ed., 1961.

DICE, LEE R.
1952 Natural Communities. University of Michigan Press, An Arbor.

[24] Cf. Sturtevant, 1961; Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1961.
[25] Cf. Sahlins, 1958.

/111 cont./

G 101 114 Raymond Fiasson (1) in 1947 reported the existence of

1. Raymond Fiasson, "Algunos aspectos cientificos del Apure /Some Scientific Aspects of the Apure/," in El Agricultor Venezolano, Year XII, No. 127, No. 1947, p. 11.

Guliguli Indians on the banks of the Juriepe, a southern tributary of the Cinaruco. According to our Yaruro informants, these did not exist. Guliguli perhaps is only a synonym for Guahibo-Chiricoa.

The Amburua.

G 101 The Amburua appear to live on the other side of the Meta, on the Rio Negro in Colombia. Not direct neighbors of the Yaruro, they have only rare contacts with the latter. The Y G 648 Yaruro of village 30 on the Riecito recounted to us a fight against the Amburua which took place not far from them, in the course of which their adversaries were decimated.

2. The Habitat (Capanaparo and Riecito Rivers) (see Map 2[1] and Tables I and II)

Y 361 621 The Yaruro population is divided on an economic basis into small communities, established near a water course and composed of several families grouped under the authority of one head.

Y 361 Along the Capanaparo and Riecito explored by us, there are some 30 irregularly spaced on the 400 kilometers of river (2).

2. We shall dwell in detail on the structure of the communities in other articles, as we have on habitation types further on here.

1 [see pp. 19-20. -Analyst]

/112/

Table I

Statement of Observations on Habitation Types

342
361

Nos.[1]	Dates of Observations	TYPE I	TYPE II$_1$ a	TYPE II$_1$ b	TYPE II$_2$ a	TYPE II$_2$ b	TYPE III
1	25-28 Aug. 47		●				
2 a	29 Aug. - 3 Sept. 47		●				
b	30 June 49; 5-6 July 49	★	●				
»	22 Oct. 49; 3 Jan. 50	☆	○		■		
3	3-4 Sept. 47; 30 June 49		●				
4 a	5 Sept. 47; 5 July 49		●				
b	5 Sept. 47	★					
c	5 Sept. 47		●				
5	6 Sept. 47; 20 Oct. - 17 Nov. 47		●				
	24 Oct. 49; 1 Jan. 50		○		■		
6 a	6-7 Sept. 47; 20 Oct. - 11 Nov. 47		●				
»	11-17 Nov. 47		○				▲
b	4-5 July 49; 24-30 Oct. 49		●				
»	30 Oct. 49 - 1 Jan. 50		○				▲
7	24 Oct. 40 - 1 Jan. 50		●		■		▲
8	31 July 47; 8 Sept. 47	★					
	19 Oct. 47	☆			■		
9	11 Sept. 47	★					
	17 Oct. 47	☆			■		
10 a	11 Sept. 47; 17 Oct. 47; 4 July 49			◗			
b	12 Sept. 47	★					
»	15 Oct. 47	☆					
11	12-13 Sept. 47	★			■		
	15 Oct. 47	☆			■		
12	14 Sept. 47	★					
	24-26 Feb. 48	☆					▲
13	14 Sept. 47	★					
14	15 Sept. 47	★					
15	5-6 Mar. 48; 5 Apr. 48; 12 Apr. - 5 Mar. 48	☆				◆	▲
	2-3 July 49	★					
16	4 Mar. 48; 23-24 Apr. 48; 27 Apr. 48	☆				◆	▲
17	16 Sept. 47	★					
	13 Oct. 47; 25 Apr. 48	☆				◆	
18	16 Sept. 47	★					

1. Number of communities corresponding to those on Map 2.

342
361

Nos	Dates of Observations	TYPE I	TYPE II 1 a	TYPE II 1 b	TYPE II 2 a	TYPE II 2 b	TYPE III
19	16 Sept. 47 13 Oct. 47	★ ☆			■		
20	13 Oct. 47	★					
21	17 Sept. 47 13 Oct. 47	★ ☆			■		
22	12 Oct. 47	★					
23	17 Sept. 47 12 Oct. 47		● ○		■		
24	2-3 July 49	★					
25	5 Apr. 48; 11 Apr. 48 2 July 49	★ ★					
26	6 Apr. 48	★			■		▲
27	6 Apr. 48; 11 Apr. 48	☆					▲
28	6-7 Apr. 48; 10-11 Apr. 48	★					
29	7 Apr. 48; 10 Apr. 48	☆			■		▲
30	7-10 Apr. 48	☆	○		■		▲

HABITATION TYPE	I	II 1 a	II 1 b	II 2 a	II 2 b	III
Observed occupied	★	●	◗	■	◆	▲
Observed unoccupied	☆	○	◡	□	◇	△

HABITATION TYPES

342

I. Upright house with rectangular base, sometimes oval, three to four meters wide by five to seven long and three to four high, without walls, and covered with a roof of straw or palms with two sloping sides, open at one or two ends and which protects from rain. It is built on the hard ground of high banks which the floods of the rainy season do not reach.

II. 1 a. Small low hut, hemispherical (a man cannot stand erect in it), without walls, and covered with a palm roof which protects from rain. It stands on the soft, sandy ground of dunes and high shores out of reach of floods.

II. 1 b. Small low hut (a man cannot stand up in it) with an oblong base, without walls, and covered with a roof of palms with two slopes which protects against rain. It stands on the soft, sandy soil of dunes and high shores out of reach of floods.

II. 2 a. Same type as II 1 a but standing on the lower shores freed by a drop in the water level.

/114/

132
95
361

Table II

Habitation Types by Community and according to the Months of the Year

No. of the Community	Rainy Season						Dry Season					
	June	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
1	☆	☆	★	☆	☆							
2	★ ●	★ ●	☆ ●	☆ ●	■	□	□	■	□	□	□	□
3	●	○	○	●	○							
4	☆ ○	☆ ●	☆ ○	★ ●	☆ ○							
5	○	○	○	●	● ■	● ■	■	■	□	□	□	□
6	○	●	○	●	● ▲	● ▲	▲	▲	△	△	△	△
7	○	○	○	○	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	● ■ ▲	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △
8	☆	★	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
9	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
10	☆ D	☆ ◗	☆ D	★ ◗	☆ ◗							
11	☆	☆	☆	★ ■	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
12	☆	☆	☆	★	☆	△	△	△	▲	△	△	△
13	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
14	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
15	☆	★	☆	☆	☆	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◆ ▲	◆ ▲	◆ ▲
16	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◇ △	◆ ▲	◆ ▲	◇ △
17	☆	☆	☆	★	◆	◇	◇	◇	◇	◇	◆	◇
18	☆	☆	☆	★	☆							
19	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□

/115/

No. of the Comm.	Rainy Season					Dry Season						
	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May
20	☆	☆	☆	☆	★							
21	☆	☆	☆	★	■	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
22	☆	☆	☆	☆	★							
23	○	○	○	●	■	□	□	□	[illegible]	□	□	□
24	☆	★	☆	☆	☆							
25	☆	★	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	★	☆
26	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	☆ □ △	★ ■ ▲	☆ □ △
27	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	△	△	△	△	△	▲	△
28	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	★	☆
29	☆	☆	☆	☆	☆	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	■ ▲	□ △
30	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	☆ ○	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	□ △	■ ▲	□ △

HABITATION TYPE	I	II, a	II, b	II, a	II, b	III
Type observed occupied (Table I)	★	●	◗	■	◆	▲
Type presumed resulting from the extension of the type observed occupied	☆	○	◗	□	◇	△

Corrections: Put all the white signs of the table and its legend in grey.

Community No. 1 -- Replace all the signs for Type 1 (stars) by the signs for Type II 1 a (circles).

The extension was made in the following manner:

A type observed during the months of the rainy season (June to September) was extended to all the months of this season and for that which follows it (October), that is, for half of the transition period, rainy season-dry season.

132
342
361

/115 cont./

341 A type observed during the months of the dry season
361 (December to April) was extended to all the months of this season as well as that which precedes it (November) and that which follows it (May), that is, for half of the transition period rainy season-dry season, and all of the transition period, dry season-rainy season. The intermediate type is actually not reconstructed during this period as the Yaruro reinstate their winter huts immediately after the first serious downpours.

When a type has been observed only during the months of the transition period the months of the rainy season if it was a winter type, i.e., I and II 1 a or b (communities 7, 20, and 22) and for all those of the dry season if it was an aestival type II 2 a or b and III (communities 8, 9, 11, 19, 21 and 23).

In communities 16, 27, 29, and 30, the rainy season type was only observed occupied during the dry season.

/116 cont./

342 The third type (III) is a shelter of the same height as the preceding hut; sometimes it is only one of the type II huts covered over with some palms; it is composed of leafy branches designed for protection against the sun's rays, and it stands on low sandy shores which are no longer covered by water.

342 The first type (I) and the second built on a sand dune or a
361 shore out of reach of floods (II 1 a or b) are those which the Yaruro use in the rainy season, when the rivers overflow their beds and flood the savanna.

As soon as the water level begins to drop, these winter quarters are abandoned for the huts of the second type, but built on low shores (II 2 a or b), the roof of which protects them from the rain that still persists. At the height of the dry season, when the latter ceases to fall and only protection against the sun is necessary, they use the third type (III) which they install, approaching nearer to the water, on the sand which the dropping level of the river has newly freed.

With the return of the first rains they follow this same process in reverse, but skipping the transitional type, that is, directly reinstating their winter habitations.

[648] The most widespread winter habitation is type I. In winter, type II is only found in exceptional cases; it is present in nine communities (of which three also have type I) out of 30 when type I is temporarily nonexistent or unusable: destroyed and not reconstructed (its construction /117/ requiring time and manual labor and the adult men often being absorbed in the quest for daily food) or placed under an interdict by the Venezuelan peasants, as in the case of the communities of the lower Capanaparo where the Yaruro, accused of having stolen livestock, were driven from their winter habitations on the banks and forced to install themselves outside the domain of the Llaneros, i.e., on the sand dunes which border the river.

Concerning type II built during the transition period, it may sometimes be kept throughout the entire dry season (communities 2, 5, 7, 15, 16, 26, 29 and 30). As for type I, it

/117 cont./

342 361 may also be used, but rarely, throughout the year (communities 25, 26, and 28).

The type I house is a house that lasts for several years, whereas the small huts (II) and the shelters of boughs (III), either dismantled by the wind or carried off by the rising water in each new rainy season, must almost always be reconstructed the following year.

The winter habitations of a community are always grouped (the dispersion of those of communities 4 and 10 is provisional), whereas the huts and camping shelters of the seasonal changes and of the dry season are sometimes dispersed (one, two, or three huts) on shores located around the winter village.

[396 464] In addition, if the Yaruro spend the entire rainy season in the same place and lead a sedentary life at this time, during the dry season and even during the transition period between the two seasons, they move their encampments from one place to another on the same shore or from one shore to another, with the intention of either drawing nearer to water or of reinstalling themselves on sand which is clean and not encumbered with refuse, or in order to be closer to a hunting, fishing, or work place (construction of a monosylic canoe or employment on a Venezuelan farm at dry season jobs).

Let us add in conclusion that on the Capanaparo, between the Orinoco and the Riecito, all the permanent winter habitations with one or two exceptions are located, or were, in the case of the lower Capanaparo, on the southern bank. The cause of this situation seems to be the configuration of the terrain: the southern bank at this place is in general more elevated than the northern bank and hence better shielded from floods.

5:Le Besnerais--15 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19 Venezuela 552

/119 cont./

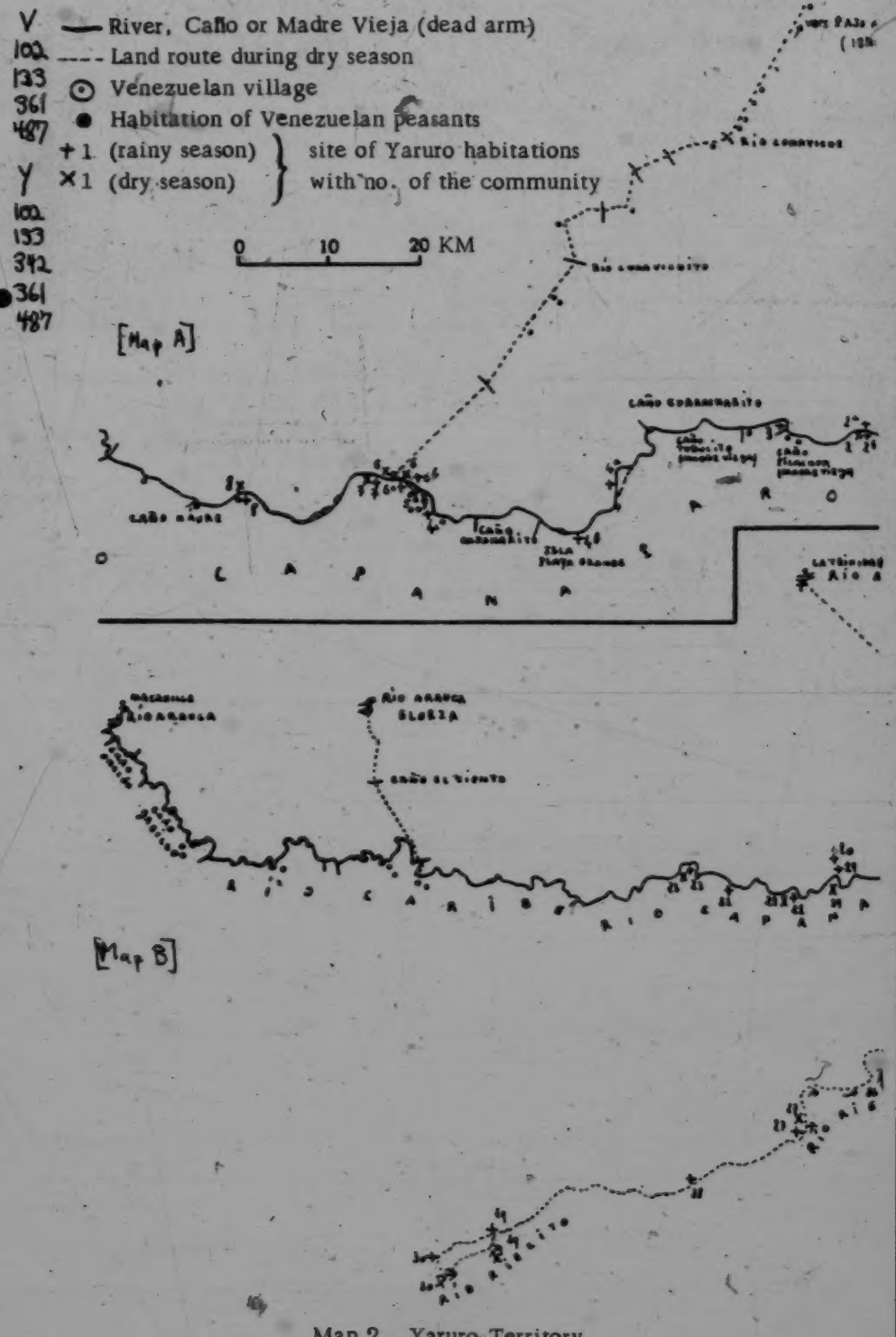
TABLE V

DENSITY

TERRITORY			YARURO		VENEZUELAN PEASANTS				
					Farms				
Sections	Nos. of the Communities	Kms.	Population	Density per 10 kms.	South bank	North bank	Total	Population 8 per Farm	Density per 10 kms.
Orinoco to Madre Vieja Basiliero	1 to 10	220	220	10.0	29	8	37	296	13.5
Madre Vieja Basiliero to Riecito	11 to 15	40	83	20.5	0	8	8	64	16.0
Riecito to Caribe	16 to 23	55	134	24.5	0	0	0	0	0
Riecito	24 to 30	89	82	9.0	0	0	0	0	0
Whole Territory	Totals and averages	404	519	13.0	29	16	45	360	14.0 (a)

(a) On 260 kms.

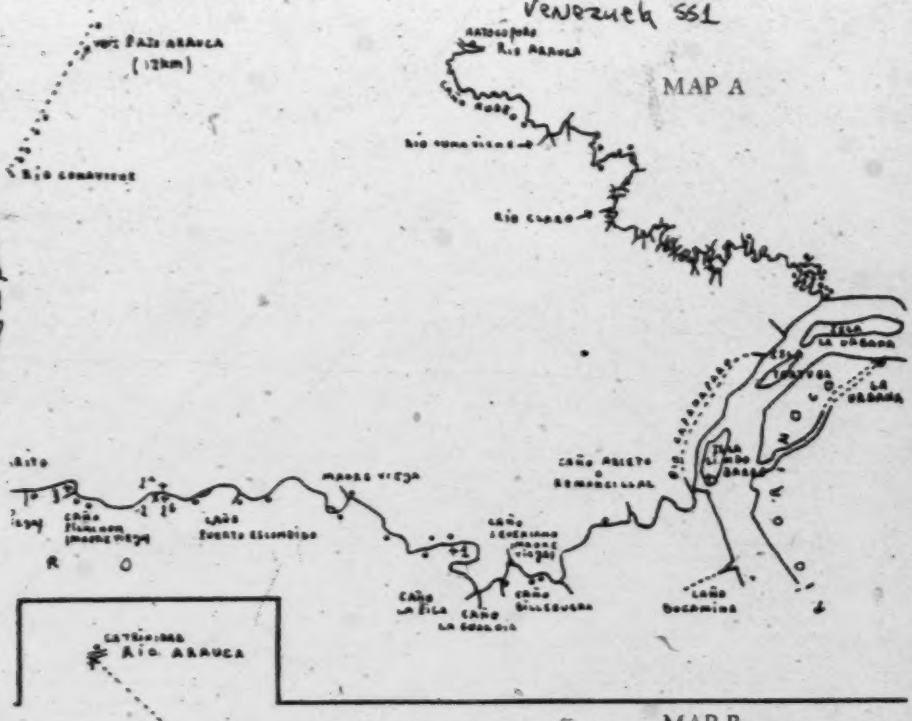
5:Le Besnerais--19 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1

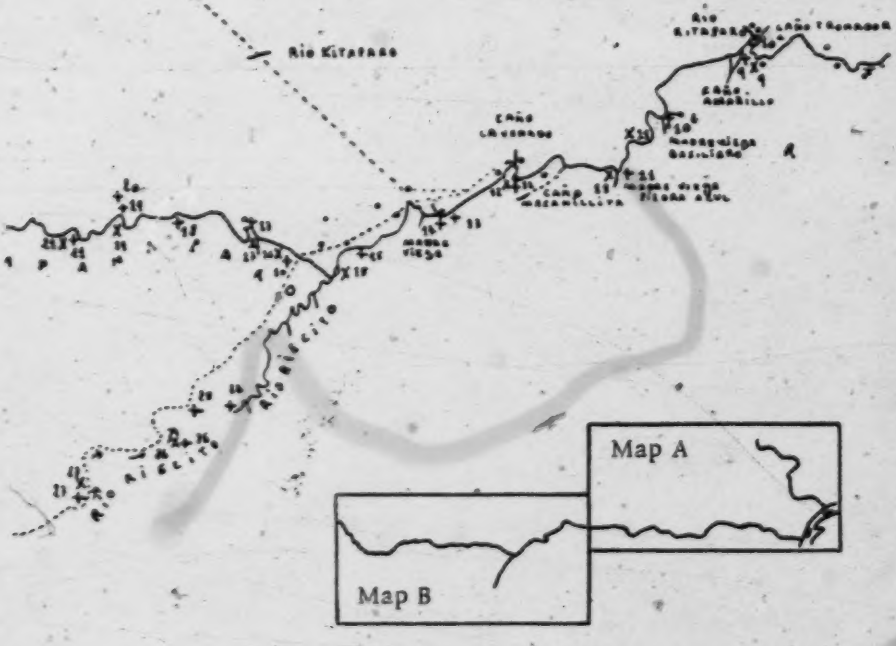

River, Caño or Madre Vieja (dead arm)
Land route during dry season
Venezuelan village
Habitation of Venezuelan peasants
+1 (rainy season) } site of Yaruro habitations
×1 (dry season) } with no. of the community
0 10 20 KM
[Map A]
[Map B]

Map 2. Yaruro Territory

5:Le Besnerais--20 E-5 (1947-1950) 1954 SS19 Yaruro SS19
Venezuela SS1

V
102
133
361
487
Y
102
133
342
●361
487





Author's correction: In MAP B, the first Yaruro community on the Capanaparo after the mouth of the Riecito should be 16 instead of 10.

/14 cont./

O 115 361 In 1949 Catalina still had three brothers, Ramón, Pablo, and Nicolas, and a sister, Guadalupe. The first brother was living on the island of Fraile in the Orinoco--his existence had been confirmed for us by a trader of the Orinoco--and the two others in San Fernando in Apure, where they were employed in the firm, Casa Hermanos Vivas. The sister was also living in San Fernando. All four had been born in Los Caballos, whereas Catalina, older than they, had first seen the light of day on the Orinoco at a time when, no doubt, the Otomaco were still living along the river. According to our informant, Pedro Ramón Camacho, in addition to these five survivors, an old Otomaco woman, also Racional like the others, was living at Lucero, a farm situated on the right bank of the Capanaparo, at the time of our investigations. Finally, according to another source, some Otomaco still existed at this same time in Colombia on the banks of the Meta.

Y 128 III. Complementary observations on the habitat of the Yaruro (28)

28. See "infra" IV List...36.

The observations made are reproduced on the two tables which follow. They are summarized for certain communities in the notes below:

Y No. of the community

342 361 2a This community No. 2 is initially located (No. 2a) on a dune of sand and earth swept by wind and relatively little assailed by mosquitoes. It has five habitations of type II 1a. The chief's habitation is to the west; the others are spread out along the same line toward the southeast. The shaman's habitation is the one in the middle. The fourth from that of the chief of the community appears to be reserved, according to the latter, for children and for passing guests.

Y [485]

103
114
342
●361
651
622
631

I. STATEMENT OF COMPLEMENTARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE COMMUNITIES OF THE YARURO (29)

29. For date of observations, location of communities on the Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, and description of habitation types, see "infra" IV List ...36.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)					Remarks on Sites
			30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...38.					
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III
On the Capanaparo River:								
1	Carlos José Delgado, then, after his death, his wife Severiana.	Santa Ana		2				According to Vicenzo Petrullo's (31) investi- 31. See "infra" IV List...68. gations, the community was called Las Mercedes and was located near the Venezuelan farm of the same name.
2	José Ladema	a) Lagunota abandoned for:		5				Same community as Petrullo's Lagunota (31). 31. See "infra" IV List...68.
	or Juan Esteban Bellac (in the absence of the former)	b) Potrerito	x (32)	x		x		which was situated beside the Venezuelan farm of Piedra Azul.
		32. "X" indicates unenumerated habitations.						
3	Adón Matute	Potrero Grande		4 to 6				The summer encampment located on a shore and not observed is called San Luis.

6:Le Besnerais--13a E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

103
114
342
361
551
632
631

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)						Remarks on Sites
			30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
		3 sites occupied simultaneously:							
		a) Guacharaca		2					
4	Marcelio Castillo	b) Agua Linda	2						
		c) Médano Alto		1					At the time of the observations (29), the site
									29. /See footnote 29 above./
									had only one type II 1 a habitation, temporarily occupied by one ♂, 2 ♀, and 2 children who were to return to Guacharaca.
5	Ramón Beltrán	Médano Alto		5		5			
	Pedro Ramón Camacho (33)	a) Guamacho abandoned for:		3 to 4				x	
8	33. The underlined names are those of higher chiefs (in Spanish: capitán mayor) with greater authority than the other chiefs (in Spanish: capitán menor). This authority generally extends to the neighboring communities sometimes directed by a capitán menor and grouped together on this table by wavy lines.								
	His actual authority over Ramón Beltrán is contested.	b) (island opposite it)		3 to 4				x	The island was later abandoned for a site farther upstream.

103
114
342
361
551
622
631

6:Le Besnerais--13c E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30)						Remarks on Sites
			30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
7	Ezequiel Padrón	Merecurito		x		x		x	
8	Ramón Jesús Caravajal (named by the Venezuelans) (34)	Magdalena							
	34. "Named by the Venezuelans" means that he was designated or confirmed as chief by a representative of the Venezuelan authorities.								
		or Caravajal	2			x			
9	Antonio Perasa (named by the Venezuelans and not recognized by the Yaruro)	San José and San Luis	3			x			The winter habitations are invisible from the bank. The summer encampment located on a shore is at San Luis.
10	José Carmen Garcillo	2 sites occupied simultaneously							
		a) Santa Rosa			1				
		b) Caño Amarillo	2						

103
114
342
●361
551
622
631

[312]

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "Infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
11	Andrés or Juan Pío (subordinate of Bernardino Agustín Lopez, surnamed Venado --see community no. 15)	Pozo El Robo (briefly occupied)	x			x			
		then simultaneously Vuelta Mala I and Vuelta Mala II	x			x			
12	Ruso Rumilio Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Chaparal or (Vuelta Mala) or (Barracas)	2					x	The type I habitations are located 400/800 m. from the bank.
13	Jacinto Lopez father of the preceding (named by the Venezuelans)	El Rosario	1						The community is located near a forest and a spring of clear water coming from the savanna.
14	Jesús Arcaya	Manguito	1						
15	Bernardino Agustín Lopez surnamed Venado; also has authority over Andrés or Juan Pío (see comm. no. 11). (no doubt named by the Ven.)	El Caibote	2				1	1	The summer encampment is located on an island downstream from the mouth of the Riecito.

6:Le Besnerais--13d 'E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

103
114
342
361
551
622
631

6:Le Beaucerais--13e E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
16	Ramón Dias	El Ceibon	3				5	3	The type I habitations are located about 300 m. from the bank.
17	Castillo	La Gavinera	5				x		
18	Simón Pacheco	Mercurito	1						
19	Simón Pacheco	Argentina	3			x			
20	Billegas	Argentina	x						The habitations are located on the savanna far from the bank.
21	Billegas	Garici	1 to 2			x			
22	José Lopez (named by the Venezuelans)	Matacaballo	3						The habitations are far from the bank.
23	Eloy	Monos Zamuro (La Patilla)		x		x			

603
114
342
361
551
622
631

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Comm. dur. Rainy Season (Winter)	Habitations Enumerated under Each Type Observed (30) 30. For the period of use of each type see "infra" IV List...36.						Remarks on Sites
			Type I	Type II 1 a	Type II 1 b	Type II 2 a	Type II 2 b	Type III	
On the Riecito River:									
24	?	?	2						The habitations are located about 200 m. from the bank.
25	Cecilio (Cecilito)	Manguito	6 to 7						The habitations are located 1 km. 600 from the bank. They are surrounded by mango trees.
26	Felipe (Felipito)	?	2			1		1	
27	Jerónimo	?	x					x	The summer encampment is set up under some trees.
28	Gregorio	?	1						
29	José Blanco	?	2			3		1	
30	Luis	?	4	1		5		8	

6:Le Beslerais--13f E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

103
361

II. LIST OF YARURO COMMUNITIES NOT OBSERVED BUT MENTIONED BY OUR INFORMANTS (35)

35. For the approximate location of these communities see "infra" IV List...64.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
On the Arauca River:			
A	?	?	Opposite the Venezuelan farm La Trinidad
B	?	El Viento	On the upper Arauca
On the Caño del Agua:			
C	?	La Mata	
On the Caño del Medio:			
D	?	Palmarito	

6:Le Besnerais--13g E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
On the Cunaviche River:			
E	?	El Gavilán	A little upstream from the Venezuelan village Cunaviche. According to the inhabitants of community no. 1, these Indians are not the same as themselves.
F	?	El Burón	El Burón de Petrullo (31) 31. See "infra" IV List...52.
G	?	San Vicente	
H	?	Carolina	Near the Venezuelan village Guaracha
I	?	Fruta de Burro	Upstream from the Venezuelan village Guaracha

6:Le Besnerais--13h E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
J	?	Camaguán	id.
On the Caño San Felipe:			
K	?	?	
On the Isla Lindo Barro and at the Boca del Capanaparo:			
L	?	?	
M	?	?	
N	?	?	
O	?	?	On Fraile Island

6:Le Besnerais--131 E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Between the Capanaparo and Cinaruco Rivers:			
P	?	?	One day downstream from R
Q	Joseito Menor	La Vigía	2 km. downstream from R
R	Olivet	El Gomal	One league (5 km.) from the Cinaruco and one day in summer or 1 1/2 days in winter--because the Casanarito, which is deep, must be crossed with a raft--from community no. 7, the spot on the Capanaparo which is closest to it.
S	?	?	Near R
T	?	?	

6:Le Besnerais--13j E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

[554 551 621]

103 321

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
U	?	Lagunota	Traversed by Raymond Fiasson (36) in 36. See "infra" IV List...21 and 22. Nov./Dec. 1946. At sources of the Náure.
V	?	?	On the Caño Amarillo
W	Alfonso (reputed a thief)	Ceiba	At sources of the Macanillita
Between the Capanaparo and Riecito Rivers:			
X	Nicolás	?	On the right bank of the Capanaparo between communities No. 22 and 23.

6:Le Besnerais--13k E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Y	Padrón (reputed a thief)	?	At the sources of the Caño Perro de Agua.
Z	?	Moriche	Near a lagoon and not far from community no. 28.
Between the Riecito and Cinaruco Rivers:			
AA	Pablo and José Losa Cardona (other name cited: Leyi)	Reicero	On a dune located at the sources of the Cinarucquito, the Cinaruco, or the Riecito, or near the Cinaruquito and 1/2 day's travel on foot from the right bank of the Riecito or one day by canoe (up to the Paso Reicero) from the Boca del Riecito.
AB	Nicolás	?	

6:Le Bésnerais--13 E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

SS1 962

103 341

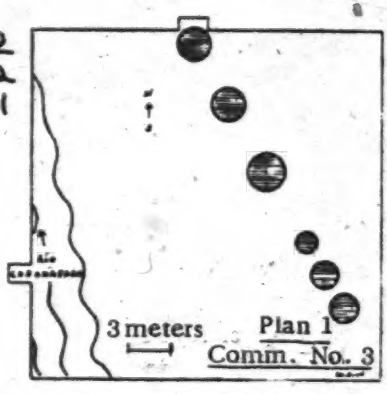
No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
AC	Basilio	?	On the Cinaruquito, to the South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra.
On the Cinaruco River:			
AD	Pablo Emilio	?	At the Paso Mina
AE	?	Santa Rosa	
AF	Julio	?	South of the Venezuelan farm Sol y Sombra
AG	José Lopez Paez	?	

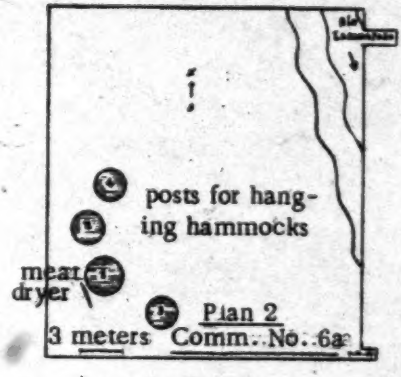
6:Le Besnerais--13m E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

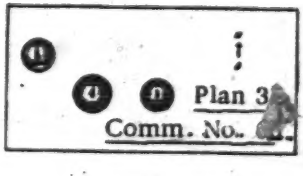
Gilg Generals--13n E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

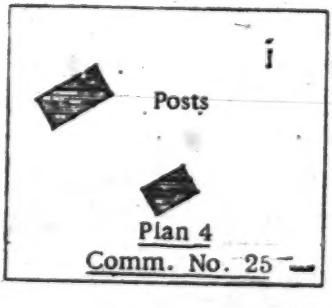
No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
On the Meta River:			
AH	?	?	
AI	?	?	On the upper Meta
On the Tomo River:			
AJ	?	?	

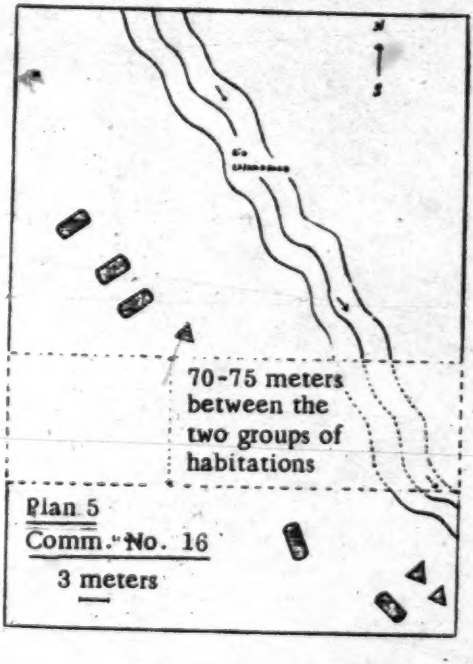
102
342
361


3 meters
Plan 1
Comm. No. 3


posts for hanging hammocks
meat dryer
Plan 2
3 meters
Comm. No. 6a


Plan 3
Comm. No.


Posts
Plan 4
Comm. No. 25


70-75 meters between the two groups of habitations
Plan 5
Comm. No. 16
3 meters

/15/

342
361

3 This one has six type II 1a habitations laid out, at the end of our observations, along the bank as plan No. 1 shows.[1] At the beginning of our observations the habitation of the chief -- and at the time shaman -- of the community was located to the side and approximately 100 meters to the east of the other habitations.

5 Community No. 5 formerly formed one and the same community, No. 7. It was created at the beginning of our observations by Ramón Beltran, who no longer wanted to accept the authority of Pedro Ramón Camacho, capitán mayor.

[578]
[631]

6a and b In each of its successive sites -- (a): a sand dune on the right bank of the Capanaparo about 30 meters from the water and (b): a sandy shore on the island facing it -- the community has no permanent shape except for three type II 1a habitations (plans No. 2 and 3). The fourth, shown on plan No. 2, was built by the inhabitants of community No. 8 for a temporary stay. Habitation No. I, for the chief and shaman of the community, is larger than the others.

8 This community has two large type I habitations, the base and roofing of which, however, are rectangular at one end and rounded at the other.

9 The three large type I habitations of this community are more comfortable in appearance than the normal, but their deficient height does not allow a man to stand up in it.

11 The chief of the community lives in Vuelta Mala 2.

[1] [see p. 13a. -Ed.]

/15 cont./

342
361

12 The community has two large type I houses, the base and roofing of which, however, are rounded at the ends.

13 This community is, from its appearance, less comfortable than the others.

14 In this one also the large type I house has its base and roofing rounded at the ends.

/16/

15 The two type I habitations of the community located on the hard ground of the high, steep river banks are laid out as plan No. 4 indicates.

16 These eight type II 2b and III habitations are laid out as plan No. 5 indicates.

17 The type I habitations are too low to stand up in, even that of the chief of the community, although it is larger than the others.

23 The community has type II 1a and II 2a habitations. This latter type has a rectangular base here and an elevation, cut along its breadth, which is pointed in form.

26, 29, 30 The type I habitations of these three communities have oval bases.

113 IV. List of works and diverse documents relating to the study of the Yaruro and Otomaco.

This list does not take account of unpublished documents resulting from the author's investigations.

7: Leeds E-4, 5 (1958) 1964 SS19 Yaruro SS19

1959), on the basis of later field research, he completely rejects his previous stand.

In 1949, after his earlier publications, Le Besnerais (cf. 1954) made a census of the entire Capanaparo and Riecito rivers, discovering among other things:

A) That most Yaruro settlements had dry season locations on or near the river, banks or on the sand bars in the river, and wet season locations back from the rivers on higher sand dunes,

B) that there were corresponding house types for each kind of location,

C) that a great many of these settlements appear to have had two divisions mainly in the wet season locations — often at considerable distances from each other, sometimes very close,

D) that near all winter locations and in all settlements along the entire length of the Riecito and Capanaparo rivers gardens existed with standard crops mentioned in my own work (1961 *a*, 1962),

E) and, by implication, that these garden plots are not readily visible from the river nor from dry season locations.

Fiasson (1947), speaking of a trip probably made in 1945, mentions gardens for the Yaruro in the Capanaparo-Meta area. The missionary, Raymond Kook, showed me pictures in 1958 of gardens on the upper Sinaruco. And, in the neighborhood of the mission station, near Guachara and along Caño del Medio and the Cunaviche River, all the Indians had horticulture. These Indians also reported gardens along the Arauca River. The linguist, Thomas P. Rootes, describes gardens along the Riecito and Sinaruco, and I have myself published in detail on Yaruro horticulture (1961 *a*).

In sum, present sources indicate horticulture for all Yaruro, going back at least to 1945 or 1946 and undoubtedly earlier — a period at maximum no more than twelve years after Petrullo's *dry-season* visit in 1934. It is hard to believe that the horticultural practice was diffused the length and breadth of Yaruro-land and integrated into a well-organized transhumance and even into the world view all in fifteen years. Nevertheless belief is not adequate proof. The only recourse is to try to resolve the problem by earlier evidence.

The second major difference between my findings and those of Petrullo relates to the asserted existence of matrilineal "clans", characterised, in localities, by a sib core of women and their children plus the locally inmarried husbands. Nowhere in Petrullo is proof given for the *unilineality* which is implied by the term clan, though the *matrifocality* seems genuinely confirmed by the genealogies reproduced. Matrifocality is not congruent with matrilineality, and, try as I might, I was not able to establish the latter. I am not ready to assert that matrilineality therefore does not, or did not, exist but I was quite unable to elicit any evidence for it.

A related aspect is, of course, exogamy. Petrullo claims that marriage can only occur reciprocally between the two clans, marriage *within* which would